THE

POLITICAL MIRROR.

BY

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AT a period ſo big with peril, when the embers of ſedition have kindled into flames in a very extenſive part of the Empire, thro' the diabolical aſſiduity of diſappointed faction; when the freedom of the preſs, an invaluable bleſſing, is abuſed to delude and inſult the common ſenſe of mankind; it is time for every honeſt heart to rouſe and endeavour to extinguiſh that innovating ſpirit, which fatally prevails under the reign of the beſt king on earth, and in dominions actually poſſeſſed of more liberty than any other under Heaven.

In every country factions and diviſions have prevailed, which frequently have ſubverted, but continually mortified the pride of conqueſt, and tarniſhed the ſplendor of commerce and arts. Yet to ſow diſaffection in a *Country* governed by wiſe inſtitutions, is a crime of ſuch magnitude as the ſevereſt puniſhment of human invention cannot adequately chaſtiſe!

But to eradicate every ſentiment of faction is certainly a moſt laudable object; and, which if I ſhould fail in my poor endeavours to ſecure, is nevertheleſs with avidity to be purſued by every friend to Britain.

The diſcuſſion of this ſubject I ſhall divide into three parts. Firſt, the power of parliament to tax the A———ns. Secondly, how the intereſt of the A——ns is affected by their conduct.—And Thirdly, conclude with ſome reflections on this moſt important event.

And

And firſt—Our conſtitution was formed on the ſanctions of nature and free will; and agreeable to theſe principles we chuſe repreſentatives to enact laws conducive to our general intereſt. In this capacity they are impowered to guard the Britiſh-Right of the conſtituent, to propoſe and frame, to reject or adopt ſuch meaſures as may appear ſalutary or prejudicial to the community they repreſent. But the founders of our polity have ſubjected them to the mutual controul of the nobility, who are inveſted with legiſlative as well as judicial powers. Thus two legiſlative bodies in conjunction, having digeſted a particular code of laws, receiving the aſſent of the chief magiſtrate, ſupport the happy equilibrium and beautiful ſymmetry of the State. And the union of theſe three branches is ſo eſtabliſhed as to prevent one to over-balance the other. The weight of the people in this ſcale is very conſiderable. They are inveſted with authority to chuſe a great branch of the Senate to convey their wiſhes, ſtate their grievances, and procure redreſs, under any circum-

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ſtances of hardſhip. *Their* happineſs is the principal object of legiſlation; and, ſhould *it* be either *miſtaken* or *deſpiſed*, at a certain limited period, they have an unalienable right to delegate *wiſer* or *better* men. To one branch of the legiſlature there is allegiance and deference due from the whole community. This is called the executive power, and commands the ſupport of all the people, to aid and aſſiſt him to enforce the laws of the realm; and whoever refuſes ſuch aſſiſtance is equally culpable, as a member of ſociety, as the daring rebel, who from motives to ſubvert all order, refuſes ſubjection to a yoke which it would be his greateſt advantage and honour to bear.——

Certain principles in the ſoul operating in all ages upon the conduct of men are ſaid to have been originally implanted and ingrafted on our natures; ſuch as ſelf-preſervation, a conſciouſneſs of human infirmity, and in every nation however ſavage or refined, an open acknowledgement of ſome

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ſupreme Being able to demoliſh, and create, to interpoſe, and ſuperintend all ſublunary concerns.

Principles equally ſtrong pointed out the neceſſity of reſtraint on natural freedom; and conducted the inquiſitive mind to form ſchemes of ſocial regulation. It was not the will of providence, that his creatures ſhould live recluſe and unconnected; but to unite their intereſt, on ſuch conditions as might appear productive of mutual advantage.—— Hence reſulted a neceſſity of forming contracts, to ſecure to each individual protection for his life and property. Hence reſulted an obligation on each ſeparate member of a community to reſign a portion of his fortune, and ſubmit to reſtrictions on his natural freedom, if he would yield to the impulſe of thoſe affections operating irreſiſtibly on all our paſſions, to ſuſtain an active part in life, for the advantage, and under the obſervation of his ſpecies.—Either this impulſe is inſtinctive; or it ſprings from the condition of man, incapable of enjoyment in a

private

private ſphere. But whether this ardour for ſocial intercourſe owes its ſource to ideas originally implanted; or has obtained this uncontrouled influence, in all ages, on all nations, from the imbecility of man, is an immaterial enquiry. Suffice it for the preſent purpoſe to find, in every paſt æra, mankind, however ignorant or informed, collected in various ſocieties through the ſeveral parts of the globe.

Human affairs and human intereſts became ſo complicated and extenſive, as to require an *extenſive* variety of laws. When we conſider the multiplicity and diverſity of regulations which have obtained in the ſeveral ſtates of paſt ages, we are led to contemplate on the vaſt powers of the mind; to take a comparative view of the preſent with each paſt æra; and to trace the ſimilitude of our laws, to thoſe of earlier times. When we reflect on the ſanctions of rewards and puniſhments, eſtabliſhed to preſerve inviolate the laws of each ſeparate community, we are naturally induced to abhor every daring vio-

violator of *ſocial* ties. When the wide field of devaſtation opens upon our view—when the oceans of human blood ſpilt to preſerve or diſturb a community, riſe before the hiſtoric eye; our ſouls, deeply affected with the gloomy picture, are fired by manly reſolution to extinguiſh the firſt ſeeds of diſaffection in a ſtate.

The Roman and Grecian commonwealths were an improvement on all former ſyſtems, and might have promiſed a longer duration: But ſome fundamental errors, which *grew with their growth, and ſtrengthened with their ſtrength*, produced their final ruin. The innovating ſpirit, ever contentious to new-model, defiled their beautiful form; and totally effacing the ſhadow of freedom, planted anarchy and confuſion, for government and legiſlative diſcipline.

The ſoul, open to receive all ſorts of impreſſions, may be taught to imbibe erroneous propoſitions, perhaps with more eaſe than the ſuggeſtions of truth itſelf. Thus in

theſe ſtates the deluſion of the tumultuous rabble overcame every ſenſe of liberty and right; and introduced thoſe convulſions which it was impoſſible to ſurvive. In our infancy, ideas may be infuſed which all our ſubſequent endeavours cannot eradicate. Of what important conſequence then, to guard againſt pernicious ſentiments, ſince even their abſurdity or danger are inſufficient to prevent their effects? The notorious obſtinacy of religious incendiaries of our own times, exemplify this proſtitution of our rational faculties. St. Paul complained, that his contemporaries worſhipped idols with a zeal that would dignify their conduct if its object were the true worſhip. And, alas! in this country, we may with ſimilar reaſon bemoan the degeneracy of the human intellect.----Have not thouſands in this diſtracted city, in a moment reverſed the order of things?—paid the adoration and honour due to virtue and religion, to irreligion and vice?—and, forgetting the ſubordinate diſtinctions of the realm, inſulted even magiſtracy;—trampled on all decorum and de-

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cency—while ſurrounding nations laughed at their abſurd infatuation. To ſuch a pitch of ridicule have cits been reduced,—deluded by the deceptions of a demagogue.—Perſons of a weak underſtanding, generally at the mercy of each ſeducer who can gain their admiration and applauſe; and being eaſily inflamed, are the fit inſtruments at whoſe ſhrine public diſturbers humbly preſent the poiſon'd ſacrifice.—The mob, ever at the beck of ſeduction and innovation, uniting with theſe ſuperficial reaſoners, are ever inclined to reward the ſervitude of their favourite, with the gratification of his wiſhes;—though they ſhould evidently tend to introduce every ſpecies of national miſery. The mind is not only deſtroyed and deformed by the tricks of impoſtors; but it hath frequently poured forth the tribute of prayer and praiſe to demons, crocodiles, and ſerpents.—Well apprized that the affections of the people are more violent than their reſentments, —factious leaders will aſſiduouſly cultivate the former;—and having once obtained an aſcendancy over their paſſions,

plunge, by *their* impetuous guſt, in inextricable ruin, the bark of public weal.

Repugnant as it is to common ſenſe to applaud or admire a character conſummately iniquitous; yet here miſcreants, little inferiour to Nero or Caligula, ſmoke the unhallow'd incenſe of the ſtupid mob. What language can paint this ſhocking deluſion! When a flagitious parricide, for vile attempts to alienate that aweful reverence and obedience to the ſtate, receives applauſe, humanity ſheds a tear for the frailty of nature—the fatal deluſion of the mob, and proſtitution of their ſenſes!

Though a review of paſt ages will convince us of the inefficacy of diſpaſſionate reaſoning—of the inutility of wiſdom and ſound argument to undeceive an inflamed multitude; yet, I hope Engliſhmen not totally unacquainted with the excellence of their conſtitution, nor inſenſible of the bleſſings they enjoy, will give an attentive ear to the language of our laws, impreſs upon their

their hearts a deep ſenſe of their felicity, and ſpurn each ſpecious pretext of vicious *ſnakes*, who would deceive them to their utter deſtruction: They will not liſten to the accents of faction, the cabals of party, or the ſuggeſtions of envy; but having a lively ſenſe of the excellence of their conſtitution, of the bleſſings they enjoy, the wiſdom and virtue of their prince, they will animate their ſons with loyal ardour to vindicate the honour of our name, in ſuppreſſion of rebels, the moſt abandoned, the moſt ungrateful that ever diſgraced the globe!

All the powers of Europe having their attention fixed on the Americans, whoſe reſiſtance is become an object of the firſt magnitude, we cannot be too explicit or circumſtantial, when we recount the cauſes and motives to this unnatural war. It is a ſanguinary ſcene, which muſt rend the benevolent mind, while it revolves on the fatal folly of this fanatic people, who purſue a phantom for ſolid happineſs!

As the conſtitutional rights of Great Britain to tax the Plantations, or regulate their Commerce have been controverted and made the oſtenſible cauſe of all theſe commotions, I ſhall implore the reader's attention to the following conciſe, clear, uncontroverted hiſtory of Parliament; from which will appear, beyond the poſſibility of a doubt, the antient, inherent, and unqueſtion'd power of Parliament to tax the ſubject.

Parliament is the grand convention of the three eſtates of the kingdom, ſummoned by the king to conſult about the affairs of the common-wealth.---Something ſimilar to this great court exiſted before the time of the Norman invader. He having divided the country denominated the firſt perſonages, *Barons*, who aſſembled at Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide, before the king in his royal robes, to conſult on public affairs. He eſtabliſhed his throne on ſuch a foundation by regulating this court, that neither

neither Dane nor Saxon could diſturb his tranquility. His laws were by Act of Parliament framed, and the Freemen or *Commons* of England ſhared in their formation.

But Sir Edward Coke, and very creditable writers affirm, that there were parliaments before the conqueſt, conſiſting of kings, nobles, ſenators, aldermen, wiſemen, knights, and commons. Spelman, Cambden, and others, vary ſomething in their opinions concerning the origin of the preſent houſe of commons; ſome thinking that the commons were not a part of the parlialiament upon the footing they are now, till the reign of Henry the IIId. But the great charter in the 17th year of King John, was abſolutely made by the king, barons, (Barones majores et minores) and freemen, of the kingdom. And in the reign of Henry Vth. it was ſettled that the commons ſhould ever be a part of the parliament.---Thus much for the original of the higheſt, moſt honourable, and abſolute court of juſtice in England;

England; conſiſting of the king, the lords of parliament, and the commons. There is a ſubdiviſion of the lords into ſpiritual and temporal; and of the commons into knights of the ſhire, citizens out of cities, and burgeſſes from boroughs.

The tranſcendent juriſdiction of this court is to make, repeal, enlarge, and revive laws and ſtatutes, civil, martial, eccleſiaſtical, criminal, &c. &c. And its ſupremacy is not reſtricted by any certain rules or laws in its determinations. Veſted with the powers to judge in matters of law, it examines the deciſions of judges and magiſtrates, and reverſes illegal decrees in other courts. This high court determines on petitions and appeals, and from it there is no appeal. Errors of parliament cannot be corrected but by themſelves, or a ſucceeding par——t. But in its *judicial* capacity it is governed by the common and ſtatute laws, as well as the courts of Weſtminſter-hall.

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The Houſe of Lords is the ſovereign court of juſtice and dernier reſort. They try criminal cauſes, and have an original juriſdiction to try their Peers upon indictments found by a grand jury. They try appeals from the court of chancery; yet this court hath no juriſdiction to deprive the ſubject of the benefit of an appeal.——

The commons are called the grand inqueſt of the realm. It is their province to explain public grievances, and preſent delinquents to be puniſhed by the King and Lords; and each commoner can impeach the higheſt lord in the kingdom. They are a diſtinct court, and have power to expel their own members, decide on controverted elections, and commit to priſon. In framing and abrogating laws they have equal powers with the Houſe of Lords, and with the commons every bill originates to tax the ſubject, as *they* are the repreſentatives of the people. And as the Houſe of Lords

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ſeems politically conſtituted to ſupport the rights of the crown, ſo the commons, in their proper capacity, are inſtituted to preſerve our liberties uninfringed. The lords are not permitted to make any alteration in a money-bill, as they are not choſen by the people, and conſequently not ſuppoſed to have any intimacy with their ſituation nor preciſe knowledge of their circumſtances and opinions. And, leſt an oppoſition to the levying of new taxes ſhould ariſe, productive of commotions and rebellion, in the reign of Edward the IIId. ſeveral ſtatutes were made, particularly binding the commons to conſult the ſentiments of the conſtituent.

A parliament is called by the king's writ of ſummons out of Chancery forty days previous to its ſitting, and the commons are elected by the people. Each member, tho' choſen for a particular ſpot, is preſumed to act for the general ſervice of the Empire. The whole nation being ſo materially intereſted in the choice of repreſentatives the king

king cannot exempt any *ſubject* duly qualified, from being elected knight, citizen, or burgeſs in parli——t. But aliens, unleſs naturalized, as well as perſons guilty of treaſon or felony are ineligible.——

By the common law of England, no commoner will acknowledge ſubjection to laws made without his conſent; and as ſuch conſent cannot be obtained from every individual perſonally on account of that confuſion among collected multitudes, this *conſenting* power therefore is wiſely delegated to their repreſentatives legally elected.—Some writers alledge that in ancient times kings nominated the members to be returned regardleſs of the election of the people--- But there are few ſuch inſtances.

On a prorogation of parliament, ſuch acts as have not attained the royal aſſent muſt fall: for there can be no act of parliament without the conſent of the lords and commons and the royal fiat of maje-

ſty perſonally, or by commiſſion, given.—Every ſubject of the crown, in judgment of *law*, is party to an act of parliament; for the royal aſſent being given, it is the deed of the prince and the whole realm; beſides the determination of the high court of parliament is preſumed to be the act of every particular ſubject either preſent or conſenting by his repreſentative.——

As many thouſands may be ignorant of the ſolemn forms uſed by our legiſlature in framing their laws, it will not be unprofitable to go over this ground to bring before the reader's view a pleaſing proſpect of mature council, ſerious diſcuſſion, and ſlow deliberation.——

Any member of parliament may move for leave to bring in a bill, (except for impoſing of taxes, which muſt be done by the order of the Houſe) and being granted, he, and whoever ſeconded the motion are deſired, to prepare and bring in the ſame:—when the bill is ready, it is preſented; and has the

the firſt reading by the clerk, upon a queſtion to that purpoſe; then the Speaker takes the bill, and declares the ſubſtance of it: If a debate ariſes, he propoſes the queſtion, whether it ſhall have a ſecond reading; and ſometimes upon motion, appoints a day for it; for public bills are ſeldom read more than once a day, that the members may have time to conſider of it. If no oppoſition is made to a bill, the ordinary courſe is, to proceed without a queſtion; but if generally diſliked, the queſtion is propoſed, whether it ſhall be rejected. And rejected, it cannot be propoſed again during that ſeſſions. Any member may move for an amendment; but cannot ſpeak twice the ſame day, unleſs the bill has a ſecond reading, or the Houſe is changed into a committee: after ſome time ſpent in debate, the Speaker collecting the ſenſe of the Houſe, reduces the ſame to a queſtion, which he ſubmits to the houſe, to decide by their votes.—Then it is referred to a committee of the whole houſe, or a private one according to its importance;

after diſcuſſion in the committee, the chairman making his report of their amendments and opinions, the Speaker reads it thus amended, and gives out the queſtion, whether it ſhall be read a ſecond time? and receiving an affirmative, a ſecond queſtion ariſes, whether the bill thus amended, ſhall be engroſſed and read a third time ſome other day, and, if carried in the affirmative, he puts the final queſtion, if the bill ſhall paſs, upon majority for it, the Lords diſcuſs it and after twice reading it they put the queſtion of commitment, and when read a third time, any member can ſpeak againſt the whole bill or any particular clauſe, and propoſe amendments, which muſt receive the conſent of the Commons. Thus it is at length prepared for the royal aſſent.——If a demur happens upon a bill ſent to the Houſe of Lords, a conference is demanded and members are deputed from each Houſe, who meet in the painted chamber to debate the difficulty, and having agreed, it is brought before

fore the King in his royal robes to receive his aſſent.——

Thus have the laws of the Britiſh Empire been made.—By this ſolemnity of conduct in the act of legiſlation, the Engliſh conſtitution has been the envy of the world very near one thouſand years. As far ſuperior to ancient common-wealths as to every ſyſtem of modern government, our country has attracted the admiration of ſurrounding nations.—Every law gives protection to the deareſt objects of the community, life, property, freedom and eaſe.—The very genius of the people is diſtinguiſhed for a peculiar attachment to ſociety ſtronger than life itſelf—And it is the glory of human nature to boaſt an intereſt in preſerving, by the moſt coſtly ſacrifice, this monument of wiſe inſtitutions from the rapacious violations of time.—It is the glory of the ſubject to ſuſtain this majeſtic pile above the reach of tyranny, faction, and fanatic error. Animated by the principles of liberty and love, let mankind embrace

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with rapturous joy, this only chain of laws ever framed, which could be our ſupreme honour and felicity to wear. Look round the habitable world, my countrymen, and conſider the calamities of our ſpecies. Behold myriads butchered in an hour by the malevolent fury of unreſtrained deſpots.—Deprived of the rights of nature, and that portion of freedom infuſed into the ſoul by our benevolent creator; lo——millions languiſh under ſtripes of tyrants until the mortal frame is frittered into pieces! until the ſoul agonized with torture diſengages, by one effort of her collected powers from the coil of miſery!

Who can read pages that record the captivity and bondage of extenſive nations, without ſhedding a generous tear! No diſtance of time can diminiſh our pity for the gallant tribe of heroes who bravely fell in defence of the common rights of man.---How oft alſo, in vain! has the ſoul of fortitude confronted the bloody tyrant mowing down multitudes with ruthleſs fury.

Nero

Nero murdered Thraſea Pætus for his patriotiſm, and condemned Arulenus for celebrating the praiſes of this noble patriot—— Under the reign of Domitian, Herennius ſuffered for complimenting the memory of Helvidius Priſcus. But tyrants, while they endeavour to tarniſh the luſtre of genius and extinguiſh the name of merit, only tranſmit their own to be abhorred by the lateſt poſterity.—How many princes at whoſe breath and empty nod millions tremble; and to whom every attribute of omnipotence is moſt ſervilely and prophanely applied! Armed with flames and an inquſition, without fear or controul, how many monſters have extinguiſhed in a ſea of blood, the noble flame of juſt oppoſition to their luſtful, inſatiable avarice! ſo complete is their bondage over body and ſoul!——Would the ſubjects of Britain diſpaſſionately weigh, at this alarming criſis, the happineſs which they ſpurn, we might ſee the inſidious foe fall a victim to his own accurſed machinations! Would they take a comparative view of their condition and that of other nations,

ons, their rage, juſtly excited, would utterly extirpate our preſent diſſention, and ſacrifice thoſe who gave it birth to the ſhrine of liberty. The Athenian Demagogues, by miſrepreſentation, procured the death of the braveſt officers; but the people undeceived, repented of their raſh fury and wreaked their vengeance on the *orators*.——Thus factious wretches of deſperate fortune and profligate life, have found means to ſeduce from every tye of civil ſociety our infant colonies riſing to a happy maturity by our anxious care. But the day of retribution nearly approaches; when their inſenſibility, infatuation and ingratitude, will receive adequate puniſhment from a brave, martial, yet injured parents!——There is no duty ſo noble, ſo comprehenſive as to ſupport what gave us honours, birth, diſtinction and fortune; nor no crime ſo complicated as the violation of our ſubjection, to that country to which we owe life and every bleſſing to make it valuable. The moſt penal and rigorous laws amongſt the Perſians were againſt ingratitude: They concluded,

concluded, that it was an indication of the meaneſt ſpirit---the origin of all evil---and impoſſible under its influence to revere God, careſs our friends, honour or obey our king, our parents, love our country, or to indulge one ſentiment of philanthropy! and ſhall Britons wink at a crime of ſuch magnitude? ſhall we ſuffer our laws to be trampled and infringed with impunity? ſhall the blood of heroes ſhed to enforce the moſt ſalutary inſtitutions cry in vain for vengeance? No! forbid it heaven and and each guardian, genius of the iſle!

The unhappy A———ns, while they would appear to reſiſt only late acts of parliament, ſtrike immediately at the root of our conſtitution and the privileges of the people. For, able to aboliſh theſe acts they annihilate a power we have received at our birth to ſhare in legiſlation.—It was our dignity as well duty in conſequence of this birth right, to frame, by our repreſentatives, theſe very laws, and enforce their execution at every hazard. Luſtful,

tyrannical principles, not nature's dictates, have created governments independant of the people: And when the A———ns petition the executive branch to reſcind the acts of the other two branches of the legiſlature, they are evidently influenced by principles inimical to freedom, to ſubvert the government, rob us of our birthright, and ſubſtitute inſtead of this fair fabric, ſome chimerical ſyſtem of tyranny.—There is no unimbittered happineſs in this life.—The roſe bloomed without its thorn in Eden only, that ſeat of innocence, unanimity and delight. Though our laws are indiſputably better calculated to promote religion, peace and harmony, than any code ever inſtituted; ſtill their excellence has not ſecured their operation undiſturbed. But the more beautiful their form, and ſalutary their influence, it is the more incumbent on us to aſſert their dignity and eſtabliſh their preſervation againſt thoſe, who, ever fond of novelty, pride in violence and blood to the introduction of deſtructive innovations. If in the beginning of this unnatural rebellion

bellion, ſome prejudices retarded, or threatened to defeat vigorous meaſures; we are now to rejoice that the ſpirit of truth and freedom pervades each breaſt, inflaming it to action and to glory. If it be diſhonourable for an empire renowned for conqueſt to be inſulted by an enemy however powerful; it is ſurely infamous to ſubmit to fanatic rebels, who have daringly violated every principle of gratitude, liberty, and religion.——Here I would not be underſtood to recommend either cruelty or perſecution; much leſs an extraordinary ſhew of humanity and benevolence to thoſe, who are ſo eager to rob us of our privileges and rights. While one hand lifts the unſheathed ſword to puniſh their infernal crimes, I would wiſh the other to extend a charitable, an indulgent pardon, upon unconditional ſubmiſſion and repentance of their folly.——I would be underſtood to awaken, in every proteſtant boſom, a deep ſenſe of the injuries we received, and a noble reſolution to redreſs them; and not to excite a perſecuting flame againſt any who

would return to their allegiance, and peaceably ſhelter under protection of laws they would have madly aboliſhed.——

By the teſtimony of the moſt reſpectable churchmen, who were in America at the commencement of the laſt war, I can aſſert, that its ſubſequent horrors might have been in a great meaſure precluded by unanimity of ſentiment to take advantage of a favourite criſis preſented by heaven! But we ſee the united powers of reaſon and eloquence, with celeſtial arguments in one hand, and every preſſing motive of human intereſt in the other, ſcarce able to lead theſe *heroes* to the field; when the gallic bayonet pierced their heart, and the ſcalping midnight ſavage prevented their eyes to cloſe; when fortitude, the ſhield of the brave in the hour of peril, and ſelf-preſervation, the operating principle of human nature, were unable to coaliſce theſe ſpirits in the common cauſe of religion, life and property, ſhall we wonder at their diſſention and oppoſition to our laws. Yes. This reflec-

tion

tion augments ſurprize. The French on one ſide, the Barbarians on the other, the former eager to anhihilate their religion, their laws and charters; the latter robbing, raviſhing, plundering, and pillaging all before them. The one in ardent contention to eſtabliſh tyranny and arbitrary power, the other, impelled by ſavage ferocity, only ſmiled at the moſt excruciating torment they could inflict in gratification of unſated revenge, luſt and cruelty!

In this melancholy poſture of affairs Great Britain interpoſed, and ſaved this ungrateful people, ſurrounded with tremendous danger!---Her fleet covered the ſeas, and her land-forces pervaded thro' climes before untouched by human footſteps. Her treaſures were exhauſted and millions of accumulated debts incurred to proſecute a glorious cauſe, for indeed it was the cauſe of Heaven! The incredibly rapid, nay unparalelled marches of Braddock, with the ever memorable and renowned conqueſt of Quebec, under the illuſtrious auſpices of General Wolfe,

Wolfe, ſoon eſtabliſhed our infant Colonies in ſecurity and peace. Should we turn our eyes to Germany and contemplate on melancholy ſcenes of blood, laviſhed in ſupport of honour and renown, we there ſee an univerſal war on the face of the earth to protect a people who have diſcoloured their ſwords with the blood of their protectors! Baſe, abominable parricides, what language can convey an adequate idea of your tranſgreſſions! What invention can ſuggeſt an adequate puniſhment!

You, deluded Americans, no ſooner emerged from an abyſs of complicated miſery, than you endeavoured to ſink the ſuſtaining power. Like the cheriſh'd ſnake, revived by humanity, you poiſoned the tender boſom that ſuccoured your affliction, and reſtored you to life! You, like a bubble on a ſtream, immediately diſturbed by the ſtorms of paſſion and caprice, lent an indulgent ear to the voice of ſeduction, and ſacrificed your moral and religious reputation to gratify a profligate

ligate innovator! Your enemy, having ſtudied your character, and finding your tumultuous nature prone to innovation, took advantage of your diſpoſition, and gave your credulity a mortal wound! You have facilitated the odious project of villains, determined under the maſk of public virtue to introduce public ruin! Villains, echoing the moſt ſacred names of Heaven, Liberty, Magna Charta, and Britiſh Laws, to accompliſh private ſchemes of ſelf-intereſt by the ſubverſion of the ſtate.

An Am——n, of great learning and diſtinguiſhed piety, gives us a juſt idea of the connexion of the colonies with the mother-country, in a ſermon preached in the year 1760. His words are nearly as follow—Chriſtians, ſuperior to all the reſt of the world in the arts of commerce and every improvement of civil life, were the fitteſt to explore new ſettlements, conciliate the affections of the natives, and puſh their diſcoveries to the greateſt extent. This they did with remarkable

markable zeal and ſucceſs. But in this divine work our mother country, one of the pureſt branches of the Chriſtian church, always *foremoſt* in every *pious* and *humane* work, has *ſignally* exerted herſelf. In her, when Chriſtianity hath loſt much of its influence on the lives of men, many *public* ſocieties have been formed, and *noble contributions made*, with the *glorious* view of extending the knowledge of God over this vaſt *untutored* continent. At the head of theſe is juſtly placed that *venerable* ſociety, incorporated for propogating the Goſpel in foreign parts, in whoſe *ſervice* moſt of you, my bretheren, have the honour to be employed; and for promoting whoſe *pious* deſigns we are now voluntarily aſſembled together. This auguſt and venerable body conſiſts of the principal *dignatories* of our church (the *Biſhops*) ſundry of the prime nobility in the nation, and many other pious perſons of every degree. It has ſubſiſted for near fourſcore years, and by the Providence of God, has been remarkably enabled to *ſupport* the *great* and *growing* expence incident to ſuch a vaſt undertaking.

Two

Two objects have moſt *worthily* employed the attention of this ſociety: The firſt—To provide for the adminiſtration of *religious ordinances* among *our coloniſts* themſelves, who have hitherto been generally too *thinly* ſettled to be able to ſupport a *regular* miniſtry *without* ſuch aſſiſtance. The ſecond—To win over the Heathen natives to the knowledge of God and firm attachment of our national intereſt. Theſe two deſigns, however much *evil men may ſtrive* to ſeperate them, muſt neceſſarily go hand in hand.—Should the ſociety employ themſelves wholly to the buſineſs of converting the Indian natives from Heatheniſm, while they ſuffered their *own Colonies* to degenerate into a ſtate little better than Heatheniſm itſelf, the attempt would be equally vain and *unjuſt*. For it would be to no purpoſe to ſend our miſſionaries among them, unleſs our *own* works glorified our father which was in Heaven.

Many obſtacles which formerly lay in the way of this great work, ſeem now to be

almoſt entirely removed. We were heretofore but a *ſmall people*, poſſeſſing an inconſiderable ſpot of this continent. Our acceſs to the heathen nations was *difficult* and *dangerous*. Our knowledge of their country very limitted; and the arts of our *buſy enemies* had ſown many prejudices among them to our diſadvantage.

But now the caſe is much altered. We are become a *great* and *growing* people; extending and likely to extend our Empire far over this continent. The preſent war, which we *ſhort-ſighted mortals* conſidered as one of the greateſt evils, is likely to be productive of the beſt of conſequences. With the deepeſt adoration, we behold the hand of Providence in it. A ſeries of unlook'd-for ſucceſſes has bleſſed our arms, for which *we* and our *poſterity*, throughout *all generations*, *ought* to offer up continual hymns of gratitude and praiſe to the giver of all victory. From theſe ſignal advantages the moſt inveterate enemy, nay the gates of hell ſhall not

not prevail againſt the Proteſtant religion in America: And if it ſhall pleaſe God to direct the hearts of our *rulers* to a peace which may correſpond with our former ſucceſſes, then we may expect to ſee Chriſtianity propagated to advantage.

By our *connection* and *ſubjection* to the mother-country and the productions of our own happy climate, we are the *only people* of all the European nations that are able to *feed* the hungry and *cloath* the naked. And when our *defenders* ſhall confine our *enemies* within due bounds, *our* dominion will extend by arts and manufactory in a more natural and permanent degree, than the Roman empire over the world by the terror of their arms. Thus, my brethern, *God* hath *choſen* the *Britiſh nation*, above all others to ſettle the moſt important part of this continent. Thus proſpered their arms and extended their empire in the moſt ſignal manner, thro' a ſeries of hazardous events.—Theſe things being ſo, can we ever want the moſt animating motives to *ſupport*, *honour*, and *obey* that *power*,

to

to which we owe, under Heaven, every *temporal* and *ſpiritual* advantage; *food* and *rayment*, nay *life* itſelf—Whoever conſiders the immenſe value of human ſouls; whoever is inſpired with a juſt ſenſe of our preſent degeneracy; whoever contemplates the vaſt goodneſs of God, and believes the Goſpel to be the produce of the greateſt love which Heaven could ſhew, or a *corrupt*, *untutored*, *unſteady* people could receive, muſt be inanimate indeed, not to glow with an unquenchable ardour of *loyalty* and love to that conſtitution, that laviſhed its blood and treaſures, to extend this mighty bleſſing to all the ſons of men!

Together with zeal for religion, a zeal for civil liberty, its inſeparable companion, will be truly commendable. It is the peculiar glory of the Britiſh nation to ſtrive not only to enlighten but to ennoble, the human race; not only to break aſunder thoſe *ſpiritual* fetters, which the dominion of *Antichriſt* hath eſtabliſhed over the ſouls of men, but likewiſe to let the oppreſſed go free, and to

ſtrike

ſtrike off thoſe *bodily* fetters, under which ſo great a part of the human ſpecies groans. In ſo righteous a cauſe it becomes the miniſters of God's word to ſtand among the warmeſt champions for liberty of body and mind. This is agreeable to the injunctions of our benevolent ſuperiors. We are charged to enforce loyalty, public ſpirit, ſubmiſſion to the government, and the payment of neceſſary tributes and taxes, and ten thouſand inſinuations of deſigning men ſhall not deter us from this our duty.——

It is almoſt unneceſſary to trouble the reader with any reflections on this clear, conciſe, and juſt account given by this divine of the miſeries from which our *own colonies*, as (he emphatically calls them) have been extricated by our liberal contributions, by the exertion of our ſword and every ſpark of public ſpirit. They ſupplicated our aid in the hour of danger and received it without murmur. Neither wealth nor power, nor peace nor union, had they in the year fifty-ſeven. Under this load of calamity

calamity they naturally flew into the arms of the mother country, and implored her protection as loyal ſubjects. Their deliverance from every foe was ſo ſignal rapid, glorious, and unexpected as to produce the moſt extravagant expreſſion of praiſe and gratitude, and eternal obedience to the parent ſtate. We were rulers, they were ſubjects. They were on the verge of deſtruction, and we ſtepped forth their champions and deliverers. They were a ſmall, unſettled, untutored people; we augmented their numbers, regulated their police and religious ordinances, and, urged by the moſt refined ſenſations of humanity, ſupplied them with religious and civil inſtructions at an enormous expence.——Thus we not only reſcued them from conſuming fires of ruthleſs barbarians, but ſtrained every ſinew to give them conſequence, importance and ſecurity. All their concerns were regulated by our council, no wonder then they ſhould ſoon appear a flouriſhing and happy nation. They conſidered it the characteriſtic of the Britiſh name, to enlighten and ennoble the human

human powers; and they were convinced that an inviolable, an everlaſting allegiance to the crown was not their only duty, but alſo to pay all tributes and taxes conſtitutionally impoſed, viz. impoſed in the manner I have already ſo fully deſcribed.

This picture of the connection and dependance of the colonies is drawn from their own actions, profeſſions and conduct. It is ſo far from being exaggerated, that it does not convey an adequate idea, of their ſufferings when relieved, their juſt acknowledgment of the greateſt obligations for our protection, nor of thoſe reſolutions to continue for ever the ſons of gratitude to that country, by whoſe heroic interpoſition they ceaſed to be the children of tyranny, indigence, and deſpair. Now our empire muſt fall, it ſeems, by the diſtinguiſhed exertion of thoſe virtues, the neglect or contempt, of which had cauſed the extinction of the great monarchies of the world. If, to efface every ſentiment of liberty, genius, and ſpirit, and to ſlay thouſands for imaginary

nary wrongs at the nod of a tyrant.—If, I ſay, the cries of the wretched unheard; injured nature inſulted, have ſo often convulſed mighty ſtates, how ſhall we paint the depravity of thoſe who wield the ſword againſt heaven!——The friend that gave them freedom, gave them life! the friend wading through blood to reſcue the tender parent from barbarous violation! to ſnatch the blooming virgin from the foul embrace of ruffian raviſher! the friend that marſhalled his thouſand and his ten thouſand gallant heroes to ſupport *them*, againſt tyranny and bondage, to preſerve to *them* the nobleſt gift of heaven, the proteſtant religion! Here let us pauſe a moment! An awful pauſe it muſt be to the benevolent! Reader, you bleed for the frailty of nature! Yet, you are, probably, in ſuſpence on what objects to wreak your indignation. Would I were able to direct your emotions and bring conviction to your mind of the juſtice of our arms and propriety of our meaſures! Would I were able to engrave, in moſt indelible characters, theſe

ſentiments

ſentiments of abhorrence, which, believe me, the powers of Europe feel for Am——n ingratitude and *injuſtice*; though, they ſmile with malignant envy on our diſtractions and inteſtine turmoil! Then might I ſee the Britiſh lion rouſe and bravely vindicate our injured honour! Then faction's diſcordant roar no longer dare diſturb the walk of active induſtry and commerce! Then the fatal cloud, which has benighted the faculties of many Britons, diſpelled, by native heroiſm, we might hope for Halcyon days under the auſpicious reign of a Britiſh prince, an honour to his ſpecies, and the beſt of kings!

Now, whether I conſider the A———ns bound to obey the voice of our legiſlature, as they are born ſubjects of the realm, bound to obedience by their own profeſſions, and the doctrine imbibed from their fathers with their infant food, bound to obey the late acts from the force of favours conferred on them in the laſt ſtage of affliction, at the expence of an immenſity of

blood and treaſure, or bound by contract, by charters and by gratitude; I look upon their rebellion, violating all theſe combined obligations; nay, one ſeperate tye I have recited, as the moſt unmerited, unexpected, odious and infernal crime that ever diſgraced a national record! And I muſt add, that the malice of faction, with all the advantage of improved ingenuity, has been unable to produce one argument grounded on truth and juſtice even to palliate ſo black a tranſaction! While a ſimple relation of hiſtorical facts, to a diſpaſſionate judgment, however weak or unimproved, will demonſtrate the neceſſity, the expediency and tendency, to the general intereſt, of theſe *obnoxious* laws the pretended ſource of this calamitous ſcene!

It has been, I fear, unfortunate for our country, that ſome men of abilities have made an indiſcriminate oppoſition to government, and virulent abuſe of public meaſures, a *rule* of conduct. Popular applauſe, beſtowed with propriety and juſtice, has frequently recommended

recommended its objects to ſtations of dignity and honour. On this account numbers have cultivated the affections of the people to gratify ſiniſter purpoſes, to retrieve a bad fortune and loſt reputation. Having inſidiouſly ſtudied the public diſpoſition, too oft ſoured and abuſed by miſrepreſentation, they left no diabolical deſign, no illiberal meanneſs unpracticed to inflame the ſubject to rebel againſt every duty.—Theſe dæmons felt no compunction while they aſperſed even majeſty unſullied by no ſtain, yet adorned by every virtue.--While, unawed by laws divine or human, the more amiable and dignified perſonages were ſacrificed to their rancorous projects! Duped by theſe ſpirits we have incurred a national imputation.——We have mangled, to-day, without pity, and commonly without cauſe, a brother and ſubject who was yeſterday applauded as ſomething more than human.——In the evening we doomed *Galba* to an ignominious death, who in the morning as the guardian of the ſtate, was the idol of extravagant applauſe.

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The degenerate ſons of debauchery and unbridled paſſions, are ever foremoſt to relax and aſperſe good order and government. At variance with virtue, and guided by the impulſe of ſenſual appetites they are ever eager to inculcate, that the bleſſings, which flow from wiſe regulations and ſalutary reſtraints, are an intolerable curſe; the conſequence of tyranny, and daring encroachment on civil liberty. This idle cry is echoed by advocates for innovation, who act without council and are captivated by the ſhadow of things. On libels and ſlander they greedily feed, ever deceived, and madly active to deceive others.——Hope, the fond paraſite of the poor, unites the indigent in a novel cauſe, who having nothing to loſe are unconcerned in the event of things. On theſe claſſes in every ſociety the ambitious practiſe all their powers. They are ſervile, plauſible, and profuſe.——They adminiſter to the pleaſures of the libertine, flatter the vanity of the ſparrow-headed tribe, and laviſh their wealth among the poor,—every

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ſcheme they project to improve all civil and ſacred concerns, is firſt received with partial attention and next with applauſe.—— Diſſenting bigots are aſſured, that, *their* perſuaſion ſhall obtain an eſtabliſhed aſcendancy, if they blow up their holy fire to excite an univerſal ferment in favour of ambition.——Hence malice, religious animoſity, perſecution and jealous fears; hence factious hypocrites undermine, by falſe tenets, the preſent government, in order to overthrow it.——Here we have ſeen the abandoned aſſume the veil of virtue; and the tyrannical ſtand reſolute to defend our liberties, and the people, for a ſhort period, do homage to both. But theſe pretenſions to promote freedom, productive only of perjury, tumult and inſurrections, being reprobated by Britons; theſe holy reformers of police religious and civil, retired to a more diſtant part of the realm, where they have effectually excited that rebellion, with which they had in vain endeavoured to diſturb the ſeat of empire. Melancholy weakneſs or corruption of nature, ever prone to

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novel ſchemes, however deſtructive, ever jealous, to ſpring from ſolid happineſs to imaginary bliſs, ever deſtined to renounce, with fatal temerity, preſent and certain poſſeſſion for future uncertain hope! Declamations abuſive to ſuperiors have a wonderful influence on the affections of the people. Taught to have ideas of their own ſtrength and importance, they think it no crime to diſhonour their king and riſe in impious oppoſition to the precepts of heaven. But, whoever will not inviolably obſerve and *preſerve* the laws of his religion and country, if not here, will undoubtedly be chaſtiſed hereafter; and his name be blaſted with the direful execrations of poſterity.——

It was expedient to raiſe a moderate revenue in Am———a, to eaſe this country of an enormous debt incurred in ſupport of the Coloniſts during the laſt war.—Every attempt of this nature had met with a degree of oppoſition, verging on a total independance, and plainly indicating, that it was the

the determined intention of republican ſpirits amongſt them, to embroil the whole Continent in an unnatural rebellion.—In ſuch a delicate conjuncture it would be treaſon againſt the majeſty of the conſtitution to decline any meaſure, that might tend to eſtabliſh and confirm this wavering people in a ſtrict obſervance of their allegiance and duty.—Thus the neceſſity of the ſtate and the unſettled tempers in A———a made it neceſſary to frame particular laws to equalize taxation; and bind in one indiſſoluble knot that part of the empire with the whole.

Theſe laws were conſtitutionally made, and calculated to proportion the revenue of the crown to its natural diſburſements; alſo to proportion taxes and impoſts to the wealth and circumſtances of the ſeveral parts of the realm. They were framed on mature deliberation, agitated in both Houſes of P———t with vaſt ability and anxious attention; and received the royal aſſent on the moſt deciſive majorities. They were the act of the Leg———e, exerting thoſe powers

powers, with which it is inveſted by the electors of G—t B——n and the laws of the land. It follows very clearly that theſe laws, are the act of the Engliſh people however variouſly diſſeminated, as they were framed by their repreſentatives in exerciſe of the delegated right.

But this very right of taxation is controverted and denied our legiſlature by ſome abſurd reaſoners; who, maliciouſly eager to impoſe on the weak and illiterate, draw fair concluſions from falſe principles, and falſe concluſions from the ſoundeſt principles. Yet attempts to overturn a true ſyſtem very frequently confirm its ſtrength and diſplays its importance.

However abſurd to deny the legiſlature a power of regulating the public concerns of the ſtate; ſtill this, with many other abſurdities, has ſome advocates.——

This queſtion on the right of parliament to tax the ſubject, muſt be tried by the

the laws of the land, as the only rule to decide ſuch a controverſy. And as it is evident to every capacity, that the legiſlature of this country, time immemorial, had this inherent power and exerciſed it without controul, the only point for our enquiry remains, whether the A———ns were ſubjects when they emigrated, and were to continue in this predicament by obligation, by acknowledgment, by compact, by conduct and by gratitude to the lateſt period of time.

The firſt coloniſts were ſubjects of Britain, and amenable to every law of their country. They clearly underſtood the language of theſe laws aſſerting, That no diſtance of time or place could emancipate them or their poſterity from a ſtrict obſervance and conformity to their precepts. Thus their emigration was animated by the protection of the Engliſh Sovereign, to which they were entitled by every claim of nature.——They relinquiſhed their native ſoil under conviction, that no circumſtances

could ever diſconnect them and the parent ſtate, nor ſever them from the influence and controul of a code of laws made in a free ſenate, choſen by a free people. They knew it was their duty to pay ſuch contributions to the crown as were *legally* required, viz. required by the legiſlature. They knew themſelves bound to obey the Sovereign and ſupport his honour and crown with their life and fortune.

A prejudiced mind may, under a particular ſpecies of deluſion, refuſe its aſſent to the moſt evident facts: But it is not therefore leſs true, that the A———ns ſettled in our plantations, happy on reflection, that as they were ſubject to the controul, ſo they were entitled to the protection of parliament. Have they not been from the hour of emigration ſubjects of Britain? Have not their lives and properties, like every other individual of the realm, been protected by the great council of the ſtate? Have not their lives and properties been diſpoſed of according to our law, when a tranſgreſſion of it demanded

demanded the forfeit? When their aid was demanded were they not in arms, however reluctanly, to fight the common cauſe? In the treaty of peace, were they conſidered as principals or in any other light than that of ſubjects? What was the language of America in the negociation? It was that of gratitude and joy. Delivered from tyranny, ſlavery, and death, at the expence of millions, how juſt and laudable the rapturous ardour of their profeſſions expreſſive of eternal duty, love, and loyalty, to the ſupremacy of this country? Thus we ſee the power of parliament not only undiſputed, but acknowledged equally binding on every part of the Empire, in the year fifty-eight, and A——a, gradually encreaſing under its wiſe deciſions, in learning, arts, and commerce. Free as air, their natural foe, repell'd, they enjoy'd the ſweets of liberty, admiring the wiſdom of laws compleat as human powers could make them. Did they regret that their exiſtence, as to time or place, had made it impoſſible for them or their fathers to enjoy a ſhare in the formation of this code? Were they conſidered ſlaves, becauſe they

were

were born to obey laws, in framing of which they had no repreſentatives to convey their opinion? No, the abſurdity of this doctrine was reſerved for the credulous bigots of ſeventy-ſix. They had all the liberty conſiſtant with human happineſs to poſſeſs; for Britiſh liberty is improperly defined an oppoſition to the law of the land, when it controuls our free will.

Liberty is the natural priviledge of each individual, to act as his will directs, unleſs reſtrained by law or force. In the Empire of G——t B——n, the law is a rule of conduct to guide the ſubject in all his actions; and, when we reflect on the innumerable advantages derived to every individual in ſquaring his actions to this rule, we cannot be ſurprized that the violation of it ſhould be conſidered as the moſt flagrant crime, and puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour. When we conſider the manifold privileges and humane protection of the poor blended with this code, life is of ſmall moment if it comes in competition with its preſervation.

Hence

Hence we are naturally zealous of our rights; and with laudable zeal ſupport our liberty and laws, with more anxiety than our lives. Thus, as no property or poſſeſſion is ſecure without this precious jewel, its value is enhanced by even vain apprehenſions to loſe it. Hence, alas, it is ſometimes eaſy by ſophiſtic reaſoning and inflamatory diſcourſes to ſow ſedition among the people ſeduced to ſuſpect an intention in the miniſter to rob them of this treaſure?

Well apprized of this natural jealouſy, villains of the moſt abandoned trait of character, have raiſed this commotion in A——a. Theſe acts for regulating commerce, and raiſing a revennue, furniſhed bankrupt maniacs with an opportunity to proclaim the coloniſts enſlaved, oppreſſed, robbed and plundered, by a parliament that had no right to tax them. It was in vain to urge, that every ſubject had a right to pay a quota to defray the expences of the community, and that the mode of impoſing and levying

levying this quota had wiſely pertained to the ſupreme council of the ſtate from whoſe deciſions there was no appeal. It was in vain to recommend the operation of theſe acts, by ſuggeſting that few laws were ever made, which were not oppreſſive to ſome individuals; that a general, not a partial attention muſt direct a ſupreme legiſlature; that their evil tendency could not be demonſtrated before they were permitted to operate; in vain to urge, that the A——n and En——h ſubjects were, preciſely in the ſame predicament, equally bound to obſerve and ſubmit to all the decrees of parliament, and that the ſword muſt lop, as rotten branches of the ſtate, thoſe who reſiſt its laws.—It was in vain to urge the ſtipulations of their fathers, or the conditions on which *they* obtained royal leave and protection, viz. An amenable, quiet ſubjection to the crown as its ſubjects. It was not only ridiculous to conceit, that local changes in the ſame dominion were entitled to any code of laws eſtabliſhing a partial juriſdiction.

Their

Their fathers ſaid, tax me not for ſeven years, and they were not taxed, nor the treaſures of this country ſpared, but laviſh'd to ſecure them from every chilling influence peculiar to their ſituation. When weak and feeble; England bravely cruſhed each ſavage and inſidious power that dare moleſt their infancy; theſe were benefactions commanding gratitude; and, if profeſſions deſerved attention, we might be aſſured, that time could never bury in oblivion ſuch unparralelled exertion of humanity and benevolence! From whence I conclude, that the A———ns, by charters, ſtipulation, profeſſions, protection, obligation, connexion, and every tie divine and human, have been and ought to be amenable to the laws of this realm. Therefore—in rebellion!—therefore rebels! dreadful concluſion, would to Heaven their conduct had not too literally juſtified it!

Were the A———ns ſenſible of the bleſſings of liberty, the blaze of ſedition had never kindled in that ſection of the globe.

globe.—Were they under the influence of religion, they would not lift the impious arm againſt their country.—Were they actuated by the principles, to which a free ſociety muſt owe exiſtence, far from commencing hoſtilities againſt a reaſonable law to equalize taxation, they would have moſt chearfully complied with the requiſitions of parliament; whoſe obvious intention appears to have been, to aggrandize, extend and eſtabliſh, not diſhonour, contract or deſtroy the moſt beautiful fabric under heaven!—— Requiſitions, not the effect of unwarrantable reſentment; nor of laws made at a nod of a ſingle branch of the legiſlature; but the natural reſult of deliberation and juſtice.—

Theſe *obnoxious acts* were framed by the concurrence of the three eſtates of the realm after mature reflection, warmth of oppoſition, conſultation, extenſive enquiry, profound attention to their importance, inveſtigation, accuracy of calculation upon a comparative view of the commerce, riches and debts of the whole empire, beſides continual

tinual adjournments, nay, a diſſolution of parliament, that had made ſome progreſs in their formation. Thus were they framed, I ſay, upon the moſt extenſive diſcuſſion; the legiſlature never loſing ſight of that relation ſubſiſting between the component parts of the empire. The contribution, made by the ſeveral parts, towards the ſupport of the whole, being impartially calculated, and balanced in the ſcales of legiſlation; the A———ns were found to bear no portion of public expence adequate to their wealth; while every other part groaned under an accumulated debt contracted the laſt war.—Excluſive of the idea of juſtice and obligation it was the deepeſt policy in the A———ns to contribute their mite (and no more was required,) in diſcharging the public debt as, they participated of public benefit, as under the influence of the ſame laws, under ſubjection to the ſame crown, under the happy auſpices of the Britiſh name, ſpeaking the ſame language, and claiming ſome ſhare of England's fame for arts and arms, with affections interchanged

and mutual intereſt ſo inſeperable:—that Americans, I ſay, connected by theſe endearing ties, ſhould in juſtice and ſound policy liberally contribute to eaſe millions of their brethren here under the preſſure of taxes, which they chearfully bore to ſecure A———a to the empire and extend the proteſtant religion. But, as I before obſerved, their principles of policy and juſtice were ſapp'd by deluſive prejudice, artfully inculcated by a diſſenting enthuſiaſtic crew, animated to diſturb the ſtate, either through averſion to its excellent form or the abandoned hope of retrieving a bad fortune. Otherwiſe they could not have ſo widely departed from every line of duty as chriſtians, as citizens, as ſubjects.——

Their condition daily flouriſhing, did not invite the din of arms, nor the clangor of *rebellious* trumpet. Riſing with rapidity in ſcience, arts, and commerce, they were ſecure from the incurſions of the ſavage, and the rapacious hand of France and Spain. The hand of induſtry, with aſſiduous toil

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and unceaſing cultivation adorn'd and humanized the country; while opulence rear'd ſtately palaces, and deck'd the lawn with imitative art. Noble foundations for learning and ſcience, eſtabliſhed with emulous care, gave genius an opportunity to unfold and extend its powers, and reflect luſtre on Albion's ſons. The fine arts in their dawn were courted with unremitted attention: Multitudes collected from every point of the compaſs, ſettling in this new world, were happy to unite with Britons, from the fame and excellence of their free laws. Every breeze that ruffled the ocean, wafted treaſures to their ports with the manners and cuſtoms of all nations, while the earth poured forth all the neceſſaries, nay, even the delicacies of life into the lap of the laborious ſwain.

Such was the ſituation of America, which ſhe has exchanged for rebellion, waſte, and ravage. Deplorable depravity and blindneſs of man! unreaſonable in every hope! obſtinate in purſuit of a phantom, and frantic

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to ſecure the ſhadowy objects of impoſſibility! arrogant, petulant, abuſive to the wiſe and virtuous; and yet with ſhouts of acclamation, furious to embrace an abandoned being, devoid of every principle of private virtue, and very probably diſtinguiſhed in each ſtage of life for ſacrilege, cruelty, and injuſtice. This is a melancholy picture, and, to our diſgrace, in Britain the original is found, and he is without doubt no inconſiderable ſource of the preſent rebellion. Truly aſtoniſhing, that a people, tolerably informed, ſhould ſuffer ſuch an impoſition on their ſenſes, ſuch an abuſe of their paſſions; to be impoſed on, to be abuſed by an artful profligate, without fortune, fidelity, or independance; an impoſtor whoſe actions were never controuled by a ſingle obligation of law divine or human; who never felt remorſe at the maſſacre of age, ſex, or character; nor to convulſe his country in gratification of unbounded ambition and unſated luſt. But arguments grounded on fallacious principles are adopted by gentlemen who *would* diſprove our right to taxation

taxation and ſupremacy. Say they, You have no right to tax me unrepreſented. If you take my money without my conſent, you enſlave and rob me—how abſurd ! Are they not in that ſituation with which their fathers were bound to acquieſce, and in which they diſcharged every duty of a free ſubject ? In this preciſe ſituation have they not enjoyed wealth, dignity, and freedom ? A member of every community is born to fulfil certain ſtipulations, and to be *obliged* to ſubmit to this inviolable condition is not a deprivation of liberty in a country governed by free laws. If the A———ns were born to inherit the country of their fathers, they were alſo born to obſerve their compact and conduct : They were born ſubjects to the crown of England in the moſt extenſive ſenſe of the word as defined by our laws : And this was their higheſt boaſt, for the terms were honourable, rational, and advantageous. The impoſſibility of a *convenient* repreſentation did not amount to an entire excluſion of a coloniſt from our ſenate. As a ſubject, under no particular diſqualification, he might

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diſplay his ſenatorial powers for the advantage of an empire which included the ſpeck of his nativity. Nay, each A——n Province might have a member in the houſe under ſpecial influence. For enquiries are not made in a borough or ſhire about the degrees of latitude the candidate has travelled. There are conſtitutional diſqualifications, among which to be born in A——a is not enrolled. There are eight millions of people in theſe three kingdoms unrepreſented, who can enumerate ten-fold ſeverer hardſhips to juſtify a rebellion than the A——ns. Will any man of common ſenſe demonſtrate, that theſe many millions are ſlaves, becauſe they pay quit-rent, King's-rent, window-money, fire-money, tythes, and a thouſand other impoſitions, duties, and taxes in complyance with laws to which they have not conſented? Impoſſible—the univerſal voice of mankind in one concurrence muſt confeſs our laws the wiſeſt and beſt hitherto adopted for the regulation of ſocial intercourſe, and productive of as much

happineſs

happineſs as can be conceived to exiſt this ſide the grave.

A carter, in this land inſulted or ſtricken by a Peer, will retaliate and in a court of juſtice recover damages. This *carter* is not enſlaved, for, while he is amenable to, he is protected by, laws he could never conſent to by his repreſentative, laws that equalize him, in ſecurity of perſon or property, with the firſt commoner of the land. Optics, which can diſcover a ſimilitude between this carter and a ſlave muſt have ſomething very peculiar in their formation. Whoever ventures to prove the Engliſh people ſlaves for confeſſing themſelves *bound* to obey their laws, muſt either know them very imperfectly, or be poſſeſſed of dangerous wiſhes! There were A———n members in the Houſe, when theſe obnoxious laws were made and gave their concurrence, having canvaſſed ſuch objections as aroſe on the moſt mature debate. The voice of nature, the ſuggeſtions of reaſon, and the cry of humanity and juſtice proved their expedien-

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cy and pointed out their neceſſity. It was benevolent as well as juſt in the ſenate to proportion the public tax according to the abilities of each part of the dominion. While to deny them a power to do this is to oppoſe uſuage immemorial, to contradict every law of this country, and therefore to ſubvert and demoliſh our excellent conſtitution.

Among the oppoſition there appears a *curious* reaſoner who in his obſervations on liberty divides it into phyſical, moral, religious, and civil, and from his definitions deduces this concluſion, That the Americans are juſtifiable by every law divine and human—That it is our indiſpenſible duty to aid and aſſiſt them—to lay down our arms and leave them to the direction of their own will. How far this dangerous doctrine can flow from his premiſſes, the reader may determine, either from the foregoing part of this eſſay, or the following reflections: "Phyſical liberty, he ſays, is a principle of ſpontaneity conſtituting us agents, without which

which man would be a machine acted upon by mechanical ſprings, and incapable of merit or demerit." Now in every civil ſociety our volitions and actions are partly reſtricted by the neceſſary operations of an external force, as this reſtriction is, and ever has been the object of a rational choice, it follows that a man—under the controul of laws, which are an external force, that abridge his pleaſure—cannot be conſidered as a mere machine.—The finger of Providence and ſelf-experience pointed out the *miſeries* of *ſelf*-government, and a *neceſſity*, to ſquare all our actions by certain obligations inſeperable from ſocial intercourſe. Whoever ſubmits to theſe *obligations*, is not permitted in all caſes to determine for himſelf; but is deprived of ſelf-determination, and according to the doctor's inveſtigation, loſes his phyſical liberty and becomes a mere machine—but every member of each ſociety that has exiſted, or will exiſt in future periods muſt be ſubject to controul; therefore the members of every community ſince the creation have been mere machines and *incapable* of

merit and *demerit*, therefore all mankind have been *without one principle of motion or command over events.* The *doctor* may demonſtrate the truth of theſe concluſions to the common council of London---may aſſure them that the *command over events*, which hitherto belonged to God alone, is transferred to a ſtate of phyſical liberty, viz. A ſtate of anarchy and confuſion---again every *law is a force oppoſed to the agent's own will.*---this *force* is *incompatible* with the *very idea* of voluntary motion; therefore all laws are incompatible with the *very idea* of voluntary motion, and all men that ever breathed vital air in a ſocial ſtate have been deprived of voluntary motion.---Therefore in a ſtate of ſervitude.—Some blockhead, unable to weigh the *doctor's irrefragible* argument, may aſk—how could the Americans emigrate without voluntary motion? and a thouſand ſuch impertinent queſtions on this unforced application of his firſt ſection.---But the *divine* will *ſolve* this problem, and he muſt have fair plea.——

Moral

Moral liberty *is the power of following in all circumſtances, our ſenſe of right and wrong; and he whoſe perceptions of moral obligation are controuled by his paſſions, has loſt his moral liberty, and the language applied to him is—He wants ſelf-government---without this liberty he is a wicked and deteſtable being, ſubject to the tyranny of baſe luſts; and the ſport of every vile appetite.* To this doctrine I could wiſh to engage the reader's attention. A man, whoſe perceptions of moral obligation, are controuled by paſſions is *morally* a ſlave; but theſe preceptions directed and *controuled* by reaſon, ennoble his nature and make him free.--- Therefore laws, which are the reſult of reaſon, and to which he owes obedience, by conſent or compact, and which regulate his ſenſe of right and wrong, are not inconſiſtent with the enjoyment of moral liberty; tho' they annihilate phyſical liberty, or that principle of ſelf-government, which conſtitutes us, agents, uncontrouled by any extraneous force or law.—Here the *doctor* ſhould particularize a ſociety, that ever enjoyed a particle of happineſs, in which each individual

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was *ſelf*-governed. As ſuch a ſociety never did, nor can exiſt, endeavours to introduce it are chimeras, and graſping at an impoſſibility.—Therefore, for the honour of human nature, and deference to paſt ages—the *divine* will change this concluſion, that a reſtraint on phyſical liberty makes *man a poor abject animal, without rights, without property, and without a conſcience, bending his neck to the yoke, and crouching to the will of every ſilly creature who has the inſolence to pretend to authority over him.* How inflammatory this paſſage---how enthuſiaſtic, however falſe and ridiculous the doctrine.---It will not be contradicted, that when man was ſelf-governed he was poor and abject---before the introduction of laws to reſtrain phyſical liberty, he was without rights or property, or perſonal ſecurity---the ſtronger lorded over the feeble, and made them crouch as ſilly creatures---poor, *ſilly* ſlaves to inſolence and wrong! Thus, *doctor*, influenced by deſtructive paſſions you would ſubvert our conſtitution, and have mankind revert to original anarchy---and enjoy phyſical liberty without

without moleſtation, let, or hindrance.--- And thus, by your perceptions of moral obligation, controuled by the vileſt paſſions, you have loſt moral liberty, and are, in your own words, with all due deference, a *wicked, deteſtable being, &c.* You were under a moral, civil, regligious, and phyſical obligation to aſſiſt your King by the moſt ſtrenuous effort to ſuppreſs this rebellion; yet loſt to the perception of every duty, you have endeavoured to ſtab the vitals of our conſtitution, by perverting, to the moſt unhallowed purpoſe, a little ſcience acquired in the walk of beggary and want.——

You, *doctor*, have wielded your pen in defence of moral liberty, and received the applauſe--and penſion--and honours--of all men who would wiſh to conduct themſelves, by their own *ſenſe of right and wrong.* You have proved to the illicit trader, and the drones of ſociety that they ſhould preciſely act agreeable to their own ideas of right and wrong, in oppoſition to the preſent ſyſtem

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of government, and that each individual ſhould be his own legiſlator, *ſelf* governed, *ſelf* directed, if he would preſerve his *phyſical* and *moral liberty*. And upon the paſſions of theſe numerous claſſes, which have infeſted every community on earth, you have laboured to operate, in order to raiſe a ſedition at home in favour of your *holy brethren* in America; and for this good work a fanatic brawler procured you the thanks of ſome illiterate ſtupid citizens—Great is the meaſure of your fame! But whatever proſpect an unprejudic'd mind can take of your *phyſical* and civil *liberty*, the moſt glaring contradiction riſes to its view, while one chain of inconſiſtency gives birth to concluſions, truly ridiculous, were they not productive of danger to the lower claſſes, who are too frequently deceived by the ſhew of things. Your religious liberty may account in ſome meaſure for your *natural* and *moral* blunders, and not only extenuate your guilt, but perhaps convince the reader that you are not highly criminal, though blindly miſtaken. I ſhall ſtate your own definition of it, as I would

would do juſtice to your reverence---" He likewiſe, who in religion cannot govern himſelf by his conviction of religious duty, but is obliged to receive formalities of faith, impoſed upon him by others, wants religious liberty." Now, *doctor*, in all probability, there are in theſe three kingdoms four millions of Roman Catholicks, prohibited by ſevere laws to govern themſelves by their convictions of religious duty, if they would wiſh to enjoy *civil* liberty. And from your definition of religious liberty, you conclude that they are *poor abject animals, without rights, without property, without conſcience.* If you were aſked your opinion on the repeal of theſe penal laws in the year fifty-eight, what would have been your language? It would have been fire and flames! indignation and wrath! Here your whole ſect would roar out popery! ſlavery! paſſive obedience! non-reſiſtance, *gunpowder plot!* and every other terrific metaphor that give *city oratory* the true pathos. But to aid and ſuccour at this *perilous juncture* the arms of the Americans, you ſit down deliberately to convince

four

four millions of loyal ſubjects that they have loſt the *foundation of all honour, and the chief privilege and glory of their nature.* And you earneſtly exhort them, to obtain *correct ideas* of your *meaning*, and confine their attention to your *ſubſequent obſervations*, one of the wiſeſt of which is, that every man ought to be his own legiſlator; were I only to except that paſſage by which you labour to expoſe the public credit, ſap the foundations of commerce, and plunge our fair traders into abſolute diſtraction and deſpair. More than one third of the inhabitants of Ireland are Roman Catholics, of ſteady and determined allegiance. They have ſpurned all temporal advantages, it is true, to enjoy religious liberty: Nor will they ſink under real hardſhips, ſupported by animated hopes that the humanity, of the legiſlature, will embrace them with confidence, and ſheath the avenging ſword, drawn at a very neceſſary period, to protect and eſtabliſh the Proteſtant religion. You, *doctor*, have endeavoured to reduce them to a ſad alternative; in a ſtate of civil liberty each individual

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muſt be his own legiſlator, otherwiſe he is a ſlave. In theſe kingdoms four millions of his Majeſty's ſubjects, guiding their conduct by their convictions of religious duty, are ſuffered ſo to do, but incur a diſqualification to take any direct, or indirect part, in the formation of the laws, under whoſe influence their life and property are either forfeited or ſecured. Theſe four millions muſt be legiſlators either perſonally, or by their repreſentatives, if their obedience to law be required. But their religious convictions preclude them from this legiſlative ſphere, therefore they are bound by laws that enſlave and reduce them to the moſt abject ſtate of nature. What dangerous, what treaſonable, what abſurd doctrine! Every wretch of abandoned principle muſt live according to his own ſenſe of right and wrong, or loſe his moral liberty; or be ſelf-governed, and his own legiſlator, or loſe civil liberty, for the recovery of which he is juſtifiable to take up arms upon the principles of human nature and juſtice. This, *doctor*, is the ſubſtance of your pamphlet; you have laboured to re-

 animate

animate extinguiſhed feuds and antient jealouſies; to kindle ſedition in every part of the empire, by perverting the principles of each unrepreſented ſubject.

There is a myſterious miſchief in the principles of your ſect. Popery cannot have a ſtronger tendency to ſlavery, than Calveriſm to anarchy and diabolical zeal. We find your congreſs oppreſſive, and their acts of violence conſtant, deliberate, progreſſive. They have augmented their cruelty by mirth and deriſion; by the aid of tar and feather they have endeavoured to divert the human feelings, giving the acuteſt pain a ſpecious air of ridicule: In open contempt of real piety and virtue, blind zeal and adherence to party have recommended to their attachment the moſt worthleſs; whilſt the wiſeſt are neglected and decried, and all this to inflame the rage of party. This cruel fury gave early indications of its pernicious tendency. It originated with the very ſect in the perſon of John Calvin, who burnt Servetus becauſe in *religion he governed himſelf by his convictions*

victions of religious duty. How infernal the acrimony of this bigot, who was in the ſame predicament as to hereſy, with regard to the Pope, as this unfortunate Servetus could be to Calveriſm. But among the various attempts to diſturb the Iriſh nation, this is the moſt heinous—to kindle the flames of rebellion becauſe *each man is not his own legiſlator.* It is the ſanctity of action that ſanctifies a character; and an honourable diſcharge of his duty only can make a citizen reſpectable. The province of a teacher is perſuaſion, and his duty to inculcate reverence, love, and obedience to the laws. Your conduct, *doctor,* is not apoſtolical, and cannot therefore be eſteemed a ſucceſſor to the apoſtles. Your brethren have ſeveral times diſtracted the North of Ireland this century paſt, and plunged the whole kingdom into commotion. Even at the preſent period every worthy and good man is hunted down by your tribe. Some time ago being in Dublin, I had heard one of the firſt characters in the realm abuſed; and enquiring into the cauſe, I found it was ſimply this, That he loved

his

his king and country, and did eminent ſervices to both by an unwearied exertion of the greateſt powers. Enquiring into his private virtues, I was convinced that in his perſon and demeanour he united every amiable qualification, every captivating grace---that diſtinguiſhed as a huſband, a father, a chriſtian and a friend, he became the brighteſt example aſpiring merit could copy; that not only to reward ſuch abilities, but to make them more extenſively ſerviceable to the riſing generation, his Majeſty made him Provoſt of the Univerſity, in preference of many eminent men, who were ambitious of the ſame ſtation; and that, notwithſtanding the liberality and magnificence of his ſpirit, his extenſive knowledge and force of genius, the integrity of a life invariably employed in ſerving his country, the malignity of diſappointment and envy was diſcharged againſt him, to interrupt his repoſe, and ſully his reputation. The dignities conferred on this illuſtrious character gave umbrage to republicans, ever eager to ſubvert the conſtitution, and provoked the rage of malice

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in the breaſt of ſome even well affected to their king and country; jealous, as it were, of a promotion which blaſted *their* ambition. But *envy, merit as its ſhade purſuing,* ſpreads additional luſtre inſtead of ſhade on the favourite ſons of nature and of heaven!

This ſhort digreſſion from your labours, *doctor*, you will excuſe. I am ſure, as *they* are calculated for information, I will be excuſed to return to them a moment, and *weigh their importance.*

You tell us very gravely, *doctor*,—The community alſo that is governed, not by itſelf, but by ſome will independant of it, and over which it has no controul, wants civil liberty.—You would inſinuate, I do ſuppoſe, that every communitv, or common-wealth, or empire, not governed by its own laws, but by the will, or pleaſure, or laws of ſome independant power is deprived of civil liberty—this is an axiom to the pooreſt underſtanding—every cobler knows that the empire of Great Britain governed

verned not by its own laws, but by an independant will, or power, could not enjoy civil liberty, The obvious intention then of your definition is to inſnare the incautious---you wiſhed to deceive the unthinking, by repreſenting America as a ſeparate ſtate and community that would be in actual ſlavery under our controul, and therefore juſtifiable in reſiſtance.---This is clearly your meaning. But, unfortunately for your hypotheſis, the Americans are not a ſeparate community, or ſtate---but a diſaffected body of the ſame empire, refuſing ſubjection to their own laws.

You affirm that civil liberty can only be enjoyed in a ſtate where every man can give his ſuffrage in perſon. Here, in England, it is impoſſible---*impoſſible* in America---*Here* we enjoy civil liberty in all its excellence---In America they contend for anarchy in all its confuſion---The *enjoyment*, doctor, you would wiſh to ſour---the confuſion to augment and predominate. You have declared that it is a contradiction in terms

terms to ſay that a ſtate governs itſelf, in which every individual has not a ſuffrage; and if it does not govern itſelf, its enſlaved. And this doctrine, which you have alternately contradicted and aſſerted in every page, *conveys*, in your imagination, the *preciſeſt idea* of liberty and ſlavery. When ſtates grow numerous, in your idea, they loſe their liberty, if they will not adopt a ſcheme which is the mere creature of a rapſodical dotard---you propoſe the ſubverſion of our government, in order to ſubſtitute your own plan of legiſlation, and receive the applauſe of a Solon or Lycurgus. But its ſomething ſurprizing that your ſcheme of government is a diminution of phyſical liberty, &c. The conſiſtency of your ideas can never be too much admired---you tell us what we knew from infancy, that though a ſtate ſhould not be capable of giving their ſuffrages on public meaſures individually or perſonally, they may do this by the appointment of ſubſtitutes or repreſentatives---They may entruſt the power of legiſlation, &c. viz. they may do as the Engliſh nation

tion has done invariably to preſerve freedom and ſupport it inviolably to the lateſt poſterity---Thus, *doctor*, you have been *urged* by *ſtrong feelings*, recording prodigies, fomenting ſedition, refining on politics, and *vindicating* the *rights of man*. To conclude, in a very extenſive courſe of reading on a variety of ſubjects I have never met with a more unhappy reaſoner than you, *doctor*. Such confuſion of ideas, premiſſes, ſometimes ſpecious, leading to concluſions the moſt ridiculous and *vice verſa*. And every man that has read, without prejudice, your production on Civil Liberty has certainly diſcovered the intention dangerous, however poor and prepoſterous the performance.

BRITANNICUS.

FINIS.